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Marriage and prostitution

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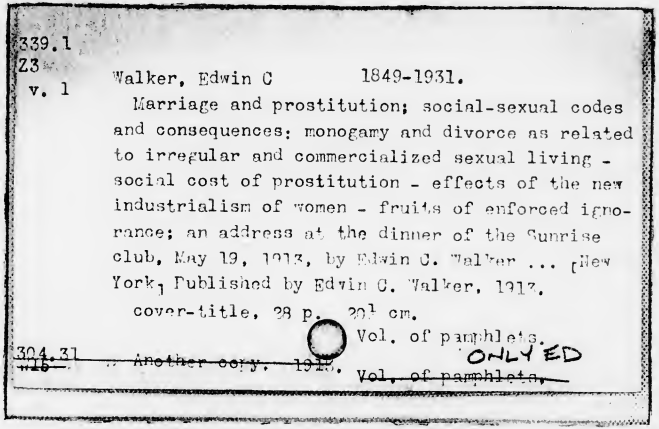

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Marriage and Prostitution

Social-Sexual Codes and Consequences: Monogamy and Divorce as Related to Irregular and Commercialized Sexual Living—Social Cost of Prostitution—Effects of the New Industrialism of Women—Fruits of Enforced Ignorance

An Address at the Dinner of the Sunrise Club

May 19, 1913

By Edwin C. Walker

Appendix: A Real Remedy for the Social Evil. By William Martin Richards, M. D. Causes of Excessively Large Families among the Poor. More about the "Liberty" of the Prostitute; Report of the Bureau of Social Hygiene. A Surviving Believer in the Taboo; The Truth About Ferrer. By James F. Morton, Jr.

Why do we fail, any of us, to see that society, that is to say, others than the active participants, share in the risks and help pay the enormous bills incurred by prostitution? The answer is easy—those of us who do not see fail to see because our gaze is turned inward, not outward, because we are contemplating subjective fancies instead of studying objective facts.

New York: July 10, 1913

Published by

EDWIN C. WALKER

244 West 143d Street, Manhattan

Price, 25 cents

"His [Wells'] books illustrate the youth of Rationalism; they are rebellious, scornful, eager for immediate and wholesale reform, confident that they have discovered the precise formula for the regeneration of the race. But after these electrical discharges, which are immensely stimulating, there comes a more serene phase in which an appreciation of the glory of the world mingles with a recognition of human limitations." *A. C. W. in "The Literary Guide," reviewing books by Anatole France and H. G. Wells.*

Marriage and Prostitution

Social-Sexual Codes and Consequences—Monogamy and Divorce as Related to Irregular and Commercialized Sexual Living—Social Cost of Prostitution—Effects of the New Industrialism of Women—Fruits of Enforced Ignorance.

There has come over from the ganas, phrara, gens, sept, clan, from the tribes, and the small and constantly warring principalities and kingdoms, much of the spirit, savage or barbarous or only slightly cultivated, that dominated those early forms of social organization. The present nominally civilized states, and even many "radicals" in these nations have inherited the mental and moral toxin or a most dangerous susceptibility to the septic contamination. It seems to me that in modern reform this poisonous spirit is waking into more and more active life. For thousands of years the primitive zeal of undiscriminating hatred was voiced in the shibboleth, "My clan, right or wrong," or "My country, right or wrong." Today we have, My State, right or wrong, My district, right or wrong, My party, right or wrong, My class, right or wrong, My sex, right or wrong." We emphasize the variety as against the genus, the right of the gang, of whatever kind, to appropriate as against the right of all to equal opportunity to enjoy.

In the state of mankind in primitive ages, we find explanation of and excuse for much of the savagery that perpetuated itself. War then meant no quarter, it meant the extermination of the defeated, without regard to age, sex, or helplessness. Each man must stand with his clan, no matter how wickedly it might be in the wrong. But gradually better sentiments and actions emerged: at first, the defeated became slaves; much later, there came exchange of prisoners, the succoring of the wounded enemy, the sparing of all non-combatants, and

now we would not interfere with the commerce of neutrals. This is true of the nations in the ratio that intensity of religious emotion and racial antipathy have lessened under the benign influence of widening knowledge of other peoples thru travel, easy communication, commerce, and scientific enlightenment. In the Balkan struggle we have seen something of what the whole world was once, for in those small warring States religious creeds and racial hatreds are more virulently active than elsewhere in the world to-day.

Strange as it may seem to those who have not looked behind the curtain of supposed class and sex interests and real class and sex misunderstandings and consequent prejudices and hatreds, many men and women who esteem themselves as of the elect of humanity are far more deeply touched with the spirit of the old exterminating gens than are the better governments of this time, far more ready to shout, "My class, right or wrong!" "My sex, right or wrong!" than are the greater statesmen and publicists to cry, "My country, right or wrong!"

This disheartening fact never was more strongly impressed upon my consciousness than during our recent two discussions of prostitution, in the symposiums of March 10 and April 14. At least a majority of the participants appeared to be much more anxious to throw all the blame upon the other sex than to join forces with all, of both sexes, in a patient, deeply probing, and comprehensive study of conditions, a candid searching for causes, and an amicable canvassing of proposed social changes. This manifestation of a most lamentable state of mind and feeling is the chief cause of my second infliction of myself upon you this season.

I shall first examine some of the mistaken ideas of those who call themselves "Radicals." Then I shall present some facts for the consideration of the Reactionaries and Standpatters. (I do not say Conservatives, for conservative is a very good word, etymologically.)

There was much contention over the question whether men who associate with women who commercialize their sex are prostitutes. Taking the dictionary definition of the word prostitute, as a verb and as a noun, and the question cannot be answered with either a simple affirmative or a simple negative. A prostitute is said to be "A person who performs or offers to perform an evil service for gain." Passing as needlessly complicating the implication that sex association is in itself an "evil service," we must say that the mere buyer cannot be a prostitute. A man who buys a glass of beer at the bar does not by that act make himself into a saloon-keeper nor into a grocer if he purchases a pound of cheese at the grocery. A woman who buys a hat at the millinery shop does not thus become a milliner.

But when we turn to the word as a verb, we have a broader definition to study. "To apply to base or vile purposes, devote to unworthy or infamous uses." Under this definition, do the man and woman stand in the same relation to a particular moral concept? Are we to understand that the "base or vile purposes," the "unworthy or infamous uses" in an act of prostitution of this class inhere *ab initio* in the sexual union or are they imported into it by (*a*) the illegality of the act or (*b*) by its commercialism? Again simplifying our problem by eliminating the thought of illegality, inasmuch as there may be purchase and sale in a wholly legal marriage, we reach the conclusion that the specific fault in prostitution is its commercialism. What, then, are the respective relations of the man and the woman to this mercenary act? Without question, the man desires that for which he pays, without reference to payment or non-payment. *He* takes part in the action for its own sake. Does *she?* Perhaps one time out of twenty, or perhaps only one time out of a hundred or a thousand. In either event, she takes pay for participation in the act. In other words, either she asks and accepts pay for using her body as she wants to use it or for using it as she would not use it if it were not for the pay. It would seem, then, that her prostitution is mental only in the first instance and both mental and physical in the second instance. As for the man, his prostitution is not physical, for he takes only what his body demands at the time. But in so far as his physical demand subordinates his repugnance to a relation not inspired by all-around love and respect, prompting him to associate with a woman who does not love him, and only in very rare instances cares for his body momentarily, this, while not making him a prostitute in the monetary sense

that the woman is a prostitute, does place him in the category of those who have smirched and darkened the finer feelings and estheticism of their natures.

And this is equally true if he enters into the sexual relation, not with a woman of the streets, but with the woman who has married him without love, for his money or for social position.

Of course, the men who sell themselves in the same way the woman of the street sells herself, are in her class; that is to say, they are prostitutes. However, in order to sell themselves they must have the physical desire which she usually lacks, but which the woman who buys does not lack. Because of this, the woman who buys and the man who sells are much more nearly and almost infinitely more often on the same plane than are the woman who sells and the man who buys.

Many earnest women are under the misapprehension that there is purposeful sex discrimination in the treatment of prostitutes by the law. It is said that this sex discrimination is shown when the women are arrested and their men associates are not; when they are segregated and men are not; when licenses are required for them but not for men, and when they are subjected to medical examination while men escape such examination. Even women lawyers, whose training should guard them against it, make this mistake. There is nothing anomalous in the situation named. Men selling goods are much more often the victims of discrimination than are women, and just because there are more of them than there are women in business and because they are sellers, not because they are men, precisely as prostitutes are discriminated against because they are sellers, not because they are women. I am not sufficiently informed in the history of law to tell you exactly how this legal principle arose, but the fact of its existence is too plain to escape the recognition of any thinking observer. Perhaps this principle of legal incidence had its source in the great discrepancy between the respective numbers of the buyers and sellers, it being much easier to get at the comparatively few sellers than at the multitude of buyers. It may be, too, that it was early felt that while the buyer was trying to satisfy an inherent or acquired demand

of the appetite, the seller was taking unjust advantage of this unfortunate condition of the buyer by making a profit out of his weakness or necessity.

Of the many illustrations of the application of this principle, take society's attitude toward the liquor traffic. Where a license is required, it is the seller, not the buyer, who must subject himself to its regulation. Where prohibition is attempted, it is the selling, not the buying, that is forbidden; the seller, not the buyer, who is arrested, and fined or imprisoned. And the overwhelming majority—in fact, almost all—the sellers are men, so that the cry of sex discrimination in the application of liquor license and prohibition laws can not be raised. The seller here, as in prostitution, is the person sought, not the buyer.

There is not time now to cite other discriminations of this kind, but it is not necessary, as you will recognize them yourself, now that your attention is called to their existence.

This discriminating policy of the law may be an unjust policy, but clearly it is not a sex discriminating policy merely because in one instance it operates against more women than men; it does just the opposite of this in many other instances.

The battle alinement at this Club has been definitely and sharply drawn between those who demand the medical examination of prostitutes only and those who say that if the women are to be examined the men who associate with them also should be examined. The one side declares that an infected woman is much more dangerous than an infected man, that there are relatively few women, and therefore the rule should rest on this quantitative basis. That is to say, not only is one woman more dangerous than one man, but the relatively few women can be found and treated much more easily and cheaply than can the many men. The one element in this argument overlooked alike by its users and its deniers is, curiously enough, also a quantitative one. I will return to it in a moment.

Prof. Scott Nearing, in his "Social Religion," quotes from the Report of the Chicago Vice Commission that prostitution "is a commercialized business, organized to the highest point of efficiency, with cash registers and modern efficient bookkeeping, even with tickets, where you get $3.50 worth of

service for $3." This bookkeeping makes it possible for Walter T. Summer, a member of that Commission, to say:

"We were able to tell the amount of service rendered in each house of prostitution by these women. We were able to tell how many men were served. We were able to get absolute figures from the records, so that I can say to you with certainty that a woman in a house of prostitution must render service to 15 men every 24 hours, and, in times of convention, or other large gatherings, 25, 30, 50, 75, and even 100, and, therefore, we know, the earnings range from $25 to $400 a week. We know that 5,999,000 men were rendered service in the City of Chicago by 1,108 prostitutes each year, and that thru this commercialized vice there was paid $16,000,000 to these 1,108 prostitutes. This did not cover the whole 5,000 women which we considered a conservative estimate of the number who are plying their trade in this business."

This means that, on an average, each of these 1,108 women was potentially capable of communicating a venereal disease 5,414 times in one year. How many men were involved we cannot even guess, as the "5,999,000 men" mean really 5,999,00 visits or payments, just as when the Interborough reports that it carried so many millions of passengers in the course of a year, we understand that so many tickets were sold, 100 or 1,000 of which, in many cases, were used by one person.

But it is such a showing as this that supports the contention of those who demand the medical examination of the women concerned rather than both women and men. It is manifest that some of these men ran only one risk of infection, others only a few, while the average for the women was 5,414, and consequently the individual responsibility for infection will be in one of these ratios as between any one man and any one woman. Nevertheless, the quantitative factor overlooked is not negligible. The danger incurred by the community thru the concentration of venereal poison by the woman is again incurred by the community thru the diffusion of that poison by the men. In other words, if one woman has fifty visitors she has fifty opportunities to infect to each man's one opportunity to be infected, but she has only the same number of opportunities to infect the fifty making one visit each that they

have in the aggregate to infect other women afterwards, and they have still more in the aggregate if any of them associates with one woman more than once or with more than one woman. This undoubtedly will remain true, on the average, even if many of these men do not associate even once each with women other than prostitutes, for a much larger number will associate more than once, some with only one woman each, but many times, and others with more than one woman.

All this leads to these conclusions: 1. The individual prostitute is more dangerous than one of her patrons, but only as dangerous as, or even less dangerous than, the aggregate of them.

2. The relatively small number of prostitutes and their partial segregation makes it much easier to lessen somewhat the spread of infection by the examination of the woman than it would be by the examination of the men. This is the one valid argument for the one-sex examination system. The second argument, that the men are less dangerous than the women, falls to the ground when we realize that in any aggregate of associations, small or large, the number of each sex involved just equals that of the other. A third argument, that the aggregate of infected men take more pains to be cured than do the aggregate of infected prostitutes, is not susceptible of proof; it may be so; more likely, it is only an assumption.

3. But there is a second class of women, innocent wives and sweethearts, infected by husbands and lovers. Here not so much care is taken, partly because of ignorance of the real nature of the trouble, partly because of false shame when the malady is recognized. This lack of prompt care, due to ignorance or shame, adds to the relative dangerousness of men as disease carriers, as compared with prostitutes.

My own position? That we are to do whatever we can at any given stage of social development to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. In the case of prostitution, if it is possible now to get adequate results from the examination of prostitutes only, then let us do that whole-heartedly. But that is not the ultimate whole of social prophylaxis. The regular examination of all men, women, and children, without regard to class, social position, or profession, religious or secular, for all possible contagious infections, is the goal. No necessary

defensive measure is invasive. Prevention of invasion is not invasion.

At the close of the symposium of April 14, I added a few words against the apparent defense of prostitution made by two speakers. As we adjourned, a woman said to me, "You have become very conservative," meaning, of course, reactionary, and implying that I have repudiated some of my earlier principles affecting that subject. This only shows again how little some eleventh-hour workers in the vineyard know of the fundamental ideas and ideals of the pioneer radicals. Instead of any declension on my part, such critics as this never have grasped some of the essential elements of the philosophy of the fathers and mothers of sex radicalism. Always in the indictment of the dominant sexual morality was this specification: Legal marriage encourages and fosters prostitution. It was ever held by the old radicals, whose ideals I inherited, that prostitution was an evil, in and out of marriage, and invariably in the armory of our much-used weapons was this argument: The destruction of the legally enforced union of a man and woman will tend to eliminate prostitution, within and without marriage, and will make it a disgrace to exchange sex favors of any kind for material considerations. It was believed by my predecessors in the radical propaganda, and it is believed by me, that to give a counterfeit of love, to give sexual intimacies, for pay of any kind is indelicate, degrading, disgraceful, corrosive of sincerity, disintegrative of the bases of human respect and confidence.

"I have a right to prostitute myself," said this woman. It is impossible to conceive a ranker heresy against the gospel of the sex radicals of the generations gone. And yet, forsooth, I am a heretic because I cannot accept this heresy, this blasphemy against all that is most frank and honest and responsible in the nature of men and women! We can find the palliation or excuse of necessity for much prostitution, physical, intellectual, moral, but an excuse in an individual case is in no sense an adequate defense of an asserted principle, of a so-called "right" of prostitution. There is no such right. The court of humanity as well as the court of law may accept the plea of necessity in mitigation or even in full defense in any

individaul case, but neither court will accept it as a justification of the act stripped of its extenuating attending circumstances nor as a valid argument for the continuance of the conditions that make the act sometimes necessary in order to preserve life.

It is argued, "I have the same right to sell the services of my sex organs that I have to sell the services of my arms or my brain." How fallacies swarm when one has an indefensible position to defend! There exists no unconditional right to sell the services of any part of your nature. You may sell the labor of your arm, yes, but not to commit crime, not to place a bomb under a tenement, not to set fire to a barn, not to wave a light to lure a ship on to the rocks, not to forge a check, not to bludgeon the man or woman you meet on the street.

But these are all glaringly invasive acts while, said another objector to me, prostitution is not invasive, and you can not prove that it is. *Perhaps* not, in strict technicality, in a legal sense, but we are dealing here far more with fundamental ethical and sociological values than with legal stipulations and inhibitions. There are a thousand actions to which my critic no more than myself would stoop, and yet they are not invasive in the narrowly restricted sense he had in mind. But in a broader sense, every social lie is invasive, betraying, undermining of the foundations of human intercourse. The hypocrite never has been held to be socially health-giving and strengthening. Who can doubt that the woman who marries a man she does not love, perhaps despises, for what he can bestow upon her in worldly gear and gauds, is an enemy of the best in human nature and its product, society? Her example is against candor, sincerity, truth-telling and truth-living, the giving of affection and passion in exchange only for affection and passion. Who can doubt that the man who gives his money to sustain a cause or a status in which he does not believe, and in which he is known not to believe, is in the real sense acting invasively, as he is corruptingly and destructively, just as the woman is who sells the imitation of affection and the use of her body for a mansion and a place in "society"?

Likewise, the right to sell the services of the brain is conditioned: To sell those services in the form of written

lies for a yellow journal, in the form of spoken lies on the rostrum for the deception of the constituents of a pious pretender, also is prostitution, often as well-paid as it is vile and destructive. And these actions are invasive in the essential sense, however cunningly their doers may keep just outside the ban of the law.

As before here and elsewhere, so again here on May 5th, it was asserted with explosive emphasis that the association of the prostitute and her companion is their affair, not society's, that it is their right to make such mutual use of their bodies as they see fit. Here, of course, we meet again our old friend, Freedom of Contract. But where is the freedom of choice of the prostitute? Where was it under the madame, where is it under the modern vice syndicate? She had none, she has none. She is a pawn in the game of commerce. She does not play, she is played. Even if in some instances she works independently, competition, the pressing need for sustenance, force her to take the men she can get, not the men she would choose if she were free in fact. In industry, we are learning that the laborer who must accept the terms offered or go hungry does not enjoy the benefits of freedom of contract when he enters the labor market. And yet labor leaders, economic reformers, come here and talk in flowing periods of the prostitute's right to rent her body as she pleases!

But even if she were free, as she is not free, society has a legitimate and terrible interest in her trade. She is a center of infection, and every man she trades with is a potential disease-carrier for her. The risks she and her associate incur are shared directly by all other women who mate with these men and by the children of these subsequent unions. Indirectly, the whole of society shares in this risk because it must help pay the bills. The trade is an extra-hazardous one and so the premium rates are very high. Society must support a large class in idleness, it must honor the drafts of physicians and surgeons, take care of the blind and otherwise inefficient children and adults, and put multitudes away at last in Potter's Field. More than that, every life shortened by prostitution is an economic loss, the amount wasted to be

computed on the basis of earning power for the period affected. No one denies this in the case of tuberculosis; why so blandly ignore it when talking of prostitution? We recognize this truth in the case of every other extra-hazardous occupation, as railroading, mining, the making of matches under the old methods, and war. Why do we fail, any of us, to see that society, that is to say, others than the active participants, share in the risks and help pay the enormous bills incurred by prostitution? The answer is easy—those of us who do not see fail to see because our gaze is turned inward, not outward, because we are contemplating subjective fancies instead of studying objective facts.

And the hastening end for the chief victim of this illusory, this non-existent, liberty? Francis Villon makes his "Fair Helm-Maker Grown Old" say:

> "Thou hast undone the mighty thrall
> In which my beauty held for me
> Clerks, merchants, churchman, one and all:
> For never man my face might see,
> But would have given his all for fee—
> Without a thought of his abuse—
> So I should yield him at his gree
> What churls for nothing now refuse."

On the reactionary or standpatter side of the house in these symposiums, there was manifested an apparently hopeless worship of the ancient supernaturalistic codes of sexual morality, coupled, in some instances, with a ferocity of temper and barbarity of suggested punishment startlingly reminiscent of savage and oriental jurisprudence and of the Inquisition. Thru immemorial ages the Eastern despot, king or mere husband, has protected his female property by giving to them as attendants only eunuchs. Not much more civilized protection—in fact, by some speakers, identically the same—was offered here in the latest symposium by those who spoke for the Christian conception of sex, for the attenuated asceticism of the hermits of the desert. These could not divest themselve of the clinging Nessus shirts of antinaturalism.

Whipping and emasculation were their favorite cures for the social disease of prostitution. They forget that in the past the prevention of unconventional sexual relations was attempted innumerable times, by chiefs and governments to

whose despotic power there was no limit; that every form of torture and lingering and cruel death menaced the men and women who traversed the social code or disregarded the edict of the One who ruled. And do these modern advocates of the lash and knife suppose they can succeed in accomplishing in an age of relatively great knowledge and humanity that which was beyond the power of absolute despots in ages of ignorance, of king-worship, of inconceivable every-day cruelty?

Thru a very long period of time, the church tried the experiment of weeding out of certain countries the strongest, most acute, and frankest intellects. As Darwin pointed out, this invidious selection by the Inquisition had a permanently disastrous effect, reducing the general level of intellect in Spain and other countries where the malign selective process was carried on the longest and administered in the most unsparing manner. Only the men and women of less independence of character, of less robust courage, of inferior intellectual activity, were left with full opportunity to populate the nations, to address themselves, they and their offspring, to the problems of science, ethics, industry, and government. The baleful effects of that religious blighting are yet with the race.

What the church did in the world of mind, some of our whip-store and cutlery-shop reformers seem anxious to duplicate in the world of the physical. They appear to imagine that it would be better for the race to be given its one chance of prepetuation thru the sexual activity of the half of the male population with the smaller endowment of virility rather than to have the opportunity to advantage from the competitive sexual activity of this half and the half with the larger endowment of virility. What is needed is not extirpation but wise guidance and salutary change of underlying conditions, just as we seek to so modify systems of industry and exchange that we can use the great creative and organizing capacity of industrial leaders for the good of the whole social body instead of wantonly slaughtering such exceptional men and women.

Let me illustrate my meaning in another way: The United States each year suffers a loss of many lives and tens or hundreds of millions of dollars from floods that devastate first one alluvial region and then another of our broad domain.

These flood losses are in great measure due to human improvidence and lack of forethought. We deforest our hills and mountains and build our cities in narrow valleys and plant our crops in the exposed bottom-lands of the streams. Then, instead of adopting a comprehensive system of timber-cutting that will not further denude the watersheds and reforesting where a foolish get-rich-quick policy already has laid them bare; instead of adding to this work of prevention and repair storage reservoirs that will at once lessen the danger of destructive floods and provide power for industry in the dry months, what do we do? We spend our money in piecemeal dredging of rivers and harbors, in building higher and higher levees that greater and greater floods break thru, in feeding drowned-out city dwellers and impoverished farmers, in rebuilding cities and roads and bridges, in burying the dead, fighting epidemics, and caring for thousands of dependents. Having recklessly disregarded causes, we are forced to deal late and lamely with effects.

Precisely so do we act in dealing with the floods of human sexual passion. Perverse ingenuity has almost exhausted its possibilities in inventing foolish and criminal and destructive devices to cure effects that were in large measure caused by just such devices. The race as a whole never has learned how to store and direct and distribute this one great creative force without which it itself would cease to exist. It has never on a large scale been able to make a healthful, non-invasive, honorable use of the enormous surplus of this force, the greater part that is not needed directly for the perpetuation of the human family. And it is the sane utilization of this surplus that may give to all human life a poetry, a music, a harmony of color, a glory of form, a purity and esctasy of emotion that to this hour have been denied to all but the choice elect few of the sons and daughters of our "civilized" nations, especially of our Christian nations.

We ever have and still seek to cut or stretch all men and women to the rigid dimensions of our bed of Procrustes. We distrust innovation, we decry experiment, from initiative we shrink with an almost mortal fear. The orthodox moralist is as desperately afraid of the competition of rival systems of marriage as his mental ancestors of the midnight of Europe

were of the competition of rival religious beliefs and customs. He instinctively—and rightly—feels that his system has much to dread in a fair and open field, much more to dread than have the struggling ideas that ask only a hearing and honest judgment on their merits and demerits. So, naturally, he would make use of repressive and suppressive measures closely kindred to or identical with the measures mercilessly employed by his intellectual prototypes of the Inquisition.

So he and she of this innumerable family of the backward-looking build far downstream dams that the floods sweep away as the trifling straw-structures they are, dig tiny shallow sluice-ways that cannot dispose of a tenth part of the rushing waters, and expend the rest of their energy in caring temporarily and weakly and insufficiently for the victims of a nescient system of social engineering, a system consisting principally of covering up and denying causes and vindictively punishing the suffering sentient effects.

These sanguinary readjusters of nature continually weigh all who have a seeming excess of sexual power in the short-weight scales of those who started with a deficit or have early exhausted their first scant supplies. They continually hold up as examples for all men and women the woman who is worn-out by excessive child-bearing, the woman whose husband was stupid or a ruffian, the post-menopause woman, the younger woman who is undersexed, conveniently and totally ignoring all women who are strongly sexed. This attitude betrays them on the one hand into the savagery lately exploited here and on the other into the most naive assumptions. For a sample of the latter, take an utterance of Rev. Dr. Summer of Chicago in Carnegie Hall the other evening. Sexual expression "necessary," he exclaims, "to man! What a reflection upon the celibate clergy of the great religious communions!" Did the reverend gentleman think for a moment that he could "get away" with all of that, that no one to-day knows anything of religious history?

The other day a man of the suppressive type, Voliva, successor of Dowie as tzar of Zion City, inveighing against top-shortened gowns and network hosiery, said that if a woman so garmented entered Zion Church he would say to his deacons, "Take out that naked woman." And he added, or he is maligned, "Let us stamp purity on the faces of our women." That is the idea exactly—purity is something to be applied externally, a rubber-stamp plaster warranted, with whip and knife, to drive out the devils of beauty and desire.

These would-be knout-wielders and emasculators insist that all shall live a monogamy that the vast majority of men never have accepted and that an ever-increasing number of women revolt against, actually if not in profession; the great majority of the dam-builders would restrict divorce to one cause, to very few at most, or deny it altogether, seemingly utterly failing to realize that all this inevitably tends to augment the sum of irregular love relations, to increase the number of potential patrons of the prostitute, and, consequently to increase the number of prostitutes. Neither do they appear to see that forcing children to live in such homes of indifference or of hate and bickering directly and surely lowers the prestige of marriage and helps again to raise the poisonous waters of prostitution. The protagonists of indissoluble marriage and the champions of difficult divorce seem to me to have the poorest vision of all men and women who are sincerely desirous of doing good in the world, as undoubtedly they are, with very few exceptions. Why can not they see that they are among the most efficient aids of the pander, the procuress, the cadet, the white-slave syndicate?

Our statutes against the dissemination of knowledge concerning and of means to prevent conception help to maintain the prostitute class. Whatever operates to postpone marriage of course increases the number of possible and actual patrons of the prostitute and thus, indirectly at least, and probably also directly, to augment the ranks of her class. Prohibition of prevention of conception does this by increasing the risks of marriage for young men and women of moderate means and those still lower in the economic scale. Another evil that is caused or intensified by this attitude of the fanatical moralists and their official agents, tho a by-product and tho it may not be greatly promotive of prostitution, is the resort often to the poorest means of prevention, caused by non-acquaintance with or inability to procure the best means. There is no need to make the best when the poorest and cheapest can be sold slyly, if anything can be. This results in impaired health, and where

it is the health of the woman that is thus affected and seriously lessens her strength and weakens her desire, the bad law may be charged with a not inconsiderable increase of patronage of prostitutes by husbands thus affected.

I am not able to place so high as many do the percentage of prostitution caused by poverty, that is to say, by a degree of poverty that renders extremely difficult if not impossible the making of a simple but comfortable living. Undoubtedly poverty and comparative poverty combine to account for much prostitution but, with the light I have at present, I am not prepared to admit that it goes as high as 50 per cent. And it is not at all probable that if an increase in the average economic returns of all women amounted to 40 per cent. of the present returns and was coupled with an increase in the "standard of living" that prostitution would decrease in the ratio that incomes had increased. Above the degree of positive destitution, poverty is relative, not absolute, and there can be no doubt that thousands of women have gone into prostitution while commanding means that would have meant independent affluence for thousands of other women who did not become and did not think of becoming prostitutes to escape poverty. Just as some men, in some environments, with only small salaries, have not embezzled when in positions of trust while other men in the same or different environments, with no larger families, but drawing much larger salaries, have embezzled, so very much depends on the tastes, ambitions, social and other desires, of the woman whether or not she feels poor enough to enter the ranks of prostitution. As a rule, I should say, the more artificial our wants are and the less beneficial would be their gratification, the stronger will be the pressure upon us to gratify those wants in any available way, good or bad. This explains why many women, in ordinarily comfortable circumstances, or more than ordinarily comfortable, marry without loving, and why they or other women, the wives of well-to-do men, increase their revenues on the side that they may make a greater show of themselves in society. As just indicated, the same is true of many men, who wish to "splurge," and consequently become reckless in procuring the means with which to splurge. In fact, this is one of the most common phenomena of human life.

This is not in the slightest degree an argument for permitting the economic situation to remain as it is; it is simply a word of caution to those who think that an increase of the wages of women from $6 to $9 a week or from $12 to $15 is sure to eliminate the greater part of existing prostitution. Many earnest women reformers recently have voiced the same warning.

Seduction—usually the word is used very loosely—undoubtedly plays a part in pushing girls into the morass of prostitution, but chiefly because of the idiotic and cruel attitude of society toward the victim. Fortunately, this attitude is softening and becoming more just in these later years.

As before pointed out, lateness of marriage favors prostitution, and this both by increasing the demand and by driving girls into it thru the propulsion of their own desires, denied normal, loving, and healthful expression. For this our antediluvian sexual standards are chiefly responsible. Again, young women as well as young men, from puberty onward, lacking experience, and usually also wise teaching and guidance at home, are ready for almost any adventure that promises excitement and an easy living. They are not equipped for taking the long view, and can not detect the brass or pewter under the gilding. This immaturity and ignorance and lack of guidance explain why the vast majority of crimes are committed by boys and young men, as they do why such numbers of prostitutes are in their teens, their very early teens often.

Next we have what may be called the positive side of the economic factor, the poverty or seeming poverty of the girl being the passive side. The positive side is the vast business interest engaged in exploiting the bodies of women. There always has been such a business interest, represented by the procuress and the madame, but it was a corner-grocery business in magnitude and system as contrasted with the long strings of efficiently managed department stores of to-day. What it is now you have caught a glimpse of in the picture I showed you earlier. The excerpt from the Report of the Chicago Vice Commission reveals to us a vast and merciless machine grinding on remorselessly from the year's beginning to the year's ending, fed by the bodies and hopes and happiness of a ceaseless procession of girl-children. This procession

is kept full by all the cunning and savagery of the promoter, the advertiser, the cadet, the kidnapper. And yet in the face of this gigantic system of slavery, there are those who babble of the "liberty of the prostitute"!

What part in this drama of forces is played by the new industrialism of woman? Does the great and rapid increase in the number of women who earn their living outside the home already tend to augment or diminish the volume of prostitution? I do not know. Does any one? The problem is very complicated. By so much as the employment of women in industry and business tends to defer marriage, it certainly operates to make the young men thereby affected in an increasing degree potential patrons of the prostitute. Also, girls remaining in the home and seeing that many women who work outside have better clothes and freer lives than they, and unable themselves to get industrial employment, or preferring idleness at what seems good pay, may in greater numbers take to the street life. On the other side of the ledger, there can be no doubt that the girls who earn their own living are under less temptation to prostitute themselves in loveless marriage, and also the spirit of independence that their mode of life initiates or strengthens in them leads in many instances to a searching analysis of the inherited sexual code, ending in its rejection frequently, and the forming of love relations that help to lessen the number of possible customers of the prostitute. Whatever changes there may come in the industrial relations of the sexes, it seems to be beyond doubt that the strongest currents of tendency flow away from the economic dependence of women upon men, that both within and without marriage she is less and less to give her body without love and respect. In whatever way production and exchange may alter their angle of incidence in the coming years and centuries, I believe the present industrial movement of women is the beginning of a steady if slow diminution of the volume of prostitution, relative to population. But this prophecy will not be justified by the event if there is not a continued corresponding civilizing of the primitive code of sexual morality. Leaving out of consideration now the other old forms of marriage, it is sufficient to point to the fact that monogamy, enforced, in theory, by law and custom upon all,

has ever been accompanied by prostitution. I see no evidence to indicate that the synchronism of the two forms of sexual relationship will cease while human nature remains substantially what it has been and legality rather than love and respect is held to be the test of purity.

Whether monogamy shall or shall not become the universal status, it is certain that the brand of shame put upon unconventional love, the rewards offered and paid for prostitution within marriage, the denial of divorce, and the infliction of ferocious punishments by law and mobs and individuals, have not destroyed and will not destroy prostitution without the marriage pale, nor have they brought or will they bring monogamy appreciably nearer its so-often predicted goal of triumph. We must look to other forces to accomplish this, if it is to be accomplished. If, and only if and when, all men and women prefer monogamy to any and all other forms of sexual relationship will the long battle be ended. At present, as always before, monogamy is an unrealized and unrealizable dream.

APPENDIX

I

A REAL REMEDY FOR THE SOCIAL EVIL

DR. WILLIAM MARTIN RICHARDS

Suppose it were possible to prevent conception as the result of sex relations except when desired by the mother? Would we not have a change for the better throughout the world? Under such circumstances a man and woman who could support themselves separately could marry and live together. Where then would be the function of prostitution, which is the safety-valve for unsatisfied sex instinct in the male?

The economic condition which forbids early marriage with its possibility of numberless children is one great factor in the production of prostitution. If we could have early marriage without the immediate creation of a family we would take a step toward the elimination of prostitution, and the way to do this is to repeal the laws that forbid the advertisement and sale of articles which prevent conception.

One great difference between human beings and other animals, according to John Fiske, "is the greater and greater lengthening of infancy." And where there are too many children we have a step backwards to a lower stage of civilization where infancy was shorter.

At present the rich and well-informed use means for preventing conception. Many of them could have any number of children without lowering their standard of living, but the poor and ignorant who had better only have one or two children at the most, do not know how to avoid conception, and as a result have ten, twelve, fifteen or more children. This means for them a lower standard of living, malnutrition with its attendant results, poor living conditions, abbreviated education, and an insufficient preparation for industrial life.

For the boys it means inability to marry young. For the girls, the temptation to marry the first man who is able to support them in order to avoid the drudgery of underpaid positions. This is only one form of prostitution, and its ordinary form is not much less common.

Another great good which the easy prevention of conception would result in, is the abolition of the double standard of morals which is so great a factor in the production of prostitution, for it is the double standard of morals which we have to thank for the setting apart of a class of women whose sole means of livelihood is sex relations inside or outside of the marriage bond. If we have the same standard for men and women we shall have no more female prostitutes than we now have male prostitutes.

We generally think of the social evil as the bad results of sex relations outside of the marriage bond, but the social evil has many bad results inside the marriage bond. As a result of venereal disease contracted by the husband elsewhere, we frequently have venereal diseases in other members of the family—the wife

or the children—contracted by sex relations or by other means of contact. Therefore, if we repeal the laws which prohibit the sale and advertisement of articles which prevent conception as such, we shall have people marrying younger, poor people having only as many children as they can support and properly educate, the lessening of venereal diseases, a decrease of prostitution inside the marriage bond or outside of it and abolition of the double standard of morals, with a higher standard of living for people in moderate circumstances.

Almost all well-informed doctors know of some means of preventing conception which is inexpensive, not injurious, and absolutely sure. It so happens that the best contrivances for preventing conception entail the use of antiseptics, and the use of antiseptics in sex relations also prevents venereal infection.

We have made for ourselves the disagreeable results of the so-called social evil. If we will repeal the laws which we have made on this subject, the poor, who need most the means of preventing conception, will obtain these contrivances just as much as the rich do now.

229 West 97th Street, New York.

The foregoing was Dr. Richard's excellent contribution to the discussion at the Sunrise Club on May 19.

In this connection, a rather odd assertion made by a writer only the other day, and falling under my eye after my paper was read, should have a few words of comment. His contention is that the poor, having means and opportunity for but few recreations and amusements, specialize in sex and so have families large in the ratio of their poverty. They have that kind of families, usually, but the cause assigned is not even a minor cause, in my opinion, except in so far as poor men, not having money to pay to prostitutes, nor time to cultivate love relations outside their homes, concentrate their attentions on their wives. But that the total of their sex life equals that of the same number of men above them in the economic scale is far from being true, I am sure. All human experience and observation have reached and emphasized the conclusion that sexual restlessness, sexual insistence, and sexual rebellion against conventions increase in the ratio that men have leisure, have opportunity, and are not absorbed, mentally and physically, in work that they love.

There are two chief causes of excessively large families among the poor and the very poor—ignorance and religion. Men and women either do not know how rationally to limit the number of their children or the threat of the displeasure of the Lords Paramount of Ghostland prevents their acting sensibly when they know or could know how to control their fecundity to the good of themselves, their children, and society as a whole. As was pointed out by one of the participants in the discussion of my paper, the priesthoods, especially that of the Roman Church, yet retain influence enough to terrify great masses of the people so that they would not dare act as sane beings in their own interest even if there were no statutes prohibiting the dissemination of information concerning the prevention of conception. Thus it comes

about that men dominated by antiquated religious ideals chain the wheels of progress both by forcing the enactment of inhuman anti-social legislation and by keeping the minds of those who listen credulously to them steeped in the superstitions that perpetuate the ignorance which poisonously fruits in excessive childbearing on the one hand and in childless woman-slavery on the other.

E. C. W.

II.

MORE ABOUT THE "LIBERTY" OF THE PROSTITUTE

A synopsis of the first volume of the Report of the Bureau of Social Hygiene occupied several columns of *The New York Globe* in its issue of May 19. I read it the day after, following my address at the Sunrise Club, and found it most strongly confirmatory of my argument that the asserted "liberty" of the prostitute is a myth to-day, whatever it may have been in the cases of an exceptional few Cora Pearls in an assumed past golden age of sex commercialism. The business now is in the hands of male and female exploiters, who direct the labors and take the lion's share of the earnings of their serfs. These padrones are organized, the business is pretty well systematized, and its management continually grows more and more efficient. There does not appear to be anywhere a union of the women; without opportunity for choice or veto, they serve the men who come; they go where they are called; they work without regard to limitation of hours; they get out of the proceeds, with few exceptions, only enough for a very moderate subsistence.

Something of what the investigators found is shown by these excerpts from the Report:

"A large wooden bench was placed against the wall of the receiving parlor [in a typical house]. Business was very brisk at the time the investigator entered. The bench was full of customers crowded close together, while others, who could not be accommodated with seats, stood about the room. At the foot of the stairs which led to the bedrooms above a man was stationed. Every time a visitor came groping his way down the stairs, the businesslike and aggressive announcer would cry out, 'Next!' At the word the man sitting on the end of the bench nearest the stairs arose and passed up. As he did so, the men on the bench moved along and one of the men who were standing took the vacant seat.

"In another, on West Twenty-eighth Street, the business was so profitable in June [1912] that the keepers are said to have paid the wrecker a large sum to delay from week to week. July 9 was one of the hottest days of the year. The odors in the old house, dirty and falling into decay, were indescribable. Through the long hours the sixteen inmates sat, hot and sullen. The day before the madame had left for a resort in Sullivan County, where many of her kind go during the Summer months. She had placed in charge the housekeeper, who did the best she could to keep the girls in good humor and to get through the day's business. On this hot July day there were 264 customers. So the records on the cards showed as the housekeeper sat with the 'boss' making up the 'books.' Buster served thirty of these; Babie, twenty-seven; Charlotte, twenty-three; Dolly, thirty, and so on. But the 'boss' was not satisfied. Why were not more inmates on the job last night?' he demanded. The housekeeper replied that they had stayed away because of the heat—they had been completely 'done up' the day before. Then the fat and well-groomed owner of the business picked up a china cup and hurled it at his luckless representative, while he cursed loud and deep. 'The trade must be taken care of' and if she 'couldn't do it' he would get 'some one who could.'"

The "liberty" of the prostitute!

Says *The Globe* of the business in which these "free" women are the dividend-earners for their overseers:

"In Chapter IV, entitled The Exploiters the fact is plainly established that prostitution is not simply a question of the immorality of individual girls and men. It is, on the contrary, an organized business—the men and women promoters of which gather huge profits by trading on the sex impulse. These men and women are notorious, and through shrewdness and money very generally evade the law. Thirty one-dollar houses in the Tenderloin District were long operated as a combine under the direct control of fifteen or more such individuals. The chapter in question traces in great detail the individual history of these people. Most of them have been engaged all their lives in the seduction and exploitation of women.

"'Their tracks are followed through Argentine, Brazil, Cuba, Canada, Alaska and the large cities of our own country—San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Tacoma, Butte, Denver, Omaha, St. Louis, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia; finally they realize their hopes in New York City. Here they have made a center, and from this center they go back over the old trail from time to time.'"

Another aspect of the machinery of this business, a business, it must never be forgotten, conducted chiefly for the profit of the overlord, not for the benefit, pecuniary or other, of the hopeless workers, is the recruiting of the lower orders of male assistants. *The Chicago Tribune* of May 20, noticing the Report here quoted, says editorially:

"That the pander and procurer who makes vice his business, his economic mainstay, is the root cause of white slavery in this country was pointed out by *The Tribune* months ago. In an editorial entitled, 'What of the Boy?' *The Tribune* showed that the ruin and slavery of girls begins with the ruin of young boys. It has pointed out how the agents of commercialized vice are scouring the places where boys congregate, especially pool rooms. Innocent youths looking for recreation and amusement are inveigled by these agents of vice into the underworld. After these boys have been thoroughly depraved by their associates, after all sense of shame and decency has been deadened in them, these boys, flashily dressed, and with plenty of money to spend, are sent out to prey upon their girl acquaintances. These youthful panders, either by promise of marriage or otherwise, ruin girls

and then turn them over to resorts where they are persuaded or forced into lives of shame.

"Attention was called by *The Tribune* in the same editorial to the prevalence of pool rooms and cheap saloons in many parts of the city which seem to exist for the sole purpose of trapping boy victims for the underworld. These pool rooms, it was pointed out at the time, are thronged daily by the same crowd of young men, none of whom have any visible means of support, none of whom ever work, and all of whom are known to live off the earnings of women whom they enslave."

It was claimed in apparent seriousness by a man of the world who took part in our discussion on May 19, that the idea of the venereal pollution of the people thru prostitution is a delusion. Quite a different position is taken by George J. Kneeland, editor of this volume of the Report of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, and who conducted the vice investigations in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Syracuse. He says:

"It needs no argument to show that the cost of prostitution is enormously augmented even by the amount of disease accounted for in the preceding discussion. [Of the amount of venereal disease handled in the hospitals of this city]. As this represents but a small part of the whole, the totals thus reached require to be multiplied by a large factor. But the reckoning would still be incomplete, even if we knew the actual volume of syphilis, gonorrhœa, and chancre, for there would remain to be included the remote effects, not less certainly due to venereal infection, and even more fateful and costly than the immediate manifestations—paralysis, sterility, miscarriage, deformity, degeneracy, insanity, curses that stretch even unto the third and fourth generations. From the effort to translate such losses into dollars and cents, the boldest calculator may well shrink, yet they are a part, a certain inevitable part, of the cost of prostitution."

This testimony amply sustains my contention that prostitution is not the affair merely of the men and women participating, but is the immediate and terrible concern of all men and women and children.

E. C. W.

III

A SURVIVING BELIEVER IN THE TABOO

After the meeting on the 19th, a grave man told me in all seriousness that such questions of sex never should be discussed publicly; that they are medical problems, not to be meddled with by laymen in audible speech at mixed gatherings. Not so very long ago, almost every man and woman would have said the same thing. Now such an utterance strikes us as archaic, as it is, so rapidly does opinion change, once a little momentum is gained. What this man now thinks about sex discussions, every monopolistic association, clerical or secular, always stoutly has asserted concerning the interest which it maintained and which maintained its members. The priesthood declared that only the church could speak with authority in matters of religion, that the laity had no right to read and interpret the Bible

for themselves, that only the anointed few knew anything worth knowing about the sacred books, the gods and the devils, the places of future abode of the righteous and the wicked. Well, men and women whose ideas we think are of use laugh at that notion now. Our friend now thinks about arguments concerning sex precisely as the priests once induced the people to think about arguments concerning religion.

Another priesthood, that of the government of the many by the few, by the sons of their fathers because they are the sons, has been greatly weakened during the last two centuries, and even our friend thinks its rule is as absurd as it is unjust. And yet there are still some dark if rather large corners of the earth where it is very far from safe to publicly criticise that rule, to affirm that all who are affected by the acts of a government have a right to examine those acts and to oppose them if they think such opposition is necessary. He wonders at this backwardness, just as we wonder that he cannot see the necessity and legitimacy of open discussion of sex issues.

The priesthood of medicine is slowly breaking down its barriers of caste, is to-day far less a close and secret corporation than it was one hundred, fifty, or even only ten years ago, We are day by day realizing more keenly that what directly or even only indirectly affects us we have a right to know about, to speak about, to help change for the better. We are not all engineers, but when bad engineering causes a disastrous trainwreck the calamity affects us and it is our right to ask why this member or these members of a class blundered and if it is not possible to establish better safeguards against such blundering.

Our critic conceives of prostitution as simply a medical question. It is a medical question, but also it is immensely more than that; it is a sociological question, and as such is the concern of all members of society. And medicine itself is a sociological science, particularly on the side of prevention—hygiene, sanitation, prophylaxis. We listen to the physician as one having special knowledge, but at the last society decides how much it will accept of his teachings and advice. So it is vitally important that all the people become possessed of knowledge sufficient to choose wisely and safely among various and divergent proposals for social betterment. In other words, to be specific, every person who may be directly or indirectly menaced by prostitution and its diseases, who may have to bear in his or her person or purse any of the burdens imposed by prostitution, has the right and it is his or her duty in personal and social self-defense to do whatever it is possible for that person to do to enlighten others and diminish the floods of economic waste, disease, and premature death.

E. C. W.

IV

THE TRUTH ABOUT FRANCISCO FERRER

By JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

[The mental processes which produced some of the errors I examined in the first half of my address at The Sunrise Club—"Marriage and Prostitution"—also are responsible for a great misapprehension of the teachings of Francisco Ferrer, and this fact justifies the reproduction here of a part of Mr. Morton's admirable article in THE TRUTH SEEKER of June 21, 1913. Clearness of thought is an indispensable condition of progress.—W.]

. . . . Freethinkers believe in the scientific method, which they seek to invoke in connection with all problems and theories; and no sound philosophy nor commendable propaganda has any occasion to dread or resent the application of this method. Mental freedom is the most fundamental of all phases of freedom. While temporary victories may be won without its help, they are uncertain and the results unstable. The freed mind may for a time be held back through insufficient information or incorrect analysis; but it will always keep probing for facts and causes, and will in the end take the lead in every forward movement. As the priest, even when apparently fighting only for his own hand, is inevitably and in the end ever the mightiest champion of despotism and oppression, so the Freethinker, even when apparently slow to accept propositions of radical social change, is inevitably and in the end ever the mightiest champion of human liberty and the deadliest foe of all the agencies which thrive by trampling humanity under foot. It is not so by chance, but in the very nature of the case.

If men are not commonly killed for religion in our day, it is not because the will is lacking, but because Freethought has so far permeated the minds of the people that priestcraft dare not work its full will. The spirit of persecution is as lively as ever, and manifests itself wherever a triumphantly dominant church finds itself locally powerful enough to affront the conscience of the modern world. That Ferrer was murdered primarily as a Freethinker, the founder of "godless" schools, is not to be obscured by the fact that his clerical foes dared not openly avow their work, but took refuge in alleging causes which did not exist. Even to the present day, the clerical Roman Catholic organs stand practically alone in the continual manifestation of hatred and vilification of his memory. It is only Roman Catholic organs and societies which menaced with their displeasure and boycott magazines such as *McClure's* for the high crime of defending the church's victim. The church-dominated military cabal hurried Ferrer to his death on lying charges and without even the semblance of a fair trial. The state courts, which had already once acquitted him, have within the past few months helped so far as their power extended to vindicate his memory by restoring his property to his heirs, on grounds which plainly imply his innocence and condemnation of his false accusers. No defense need be made of the politicians, of the government, or of the weak king who might have saved him, and let the church bullies scare him from doing so; but it is certain that none of these have shown the unrelenting ferocity toward Ferrer or the realization that he was their special enemy and natural prey, that the church and the priesthood have manifested from the very beginning. Even had they not caused his death, they have adopted the crime as their own, and have exulted over it with a savagery scarcely to be found among the wildest cannibals.

That Ferrer was distinctly not a revolutionist is so emphatically proved that an attempt to rank him as such proves merely the truth of the old maxim: "The wish is father to the thought." True, his particular social philosophy, like that of Tolstoy and Emerson, approached the ideal of ultimate Anarchism. True, likewise, that he had at times bitter and burning words for the exploiters of the masses and for a system of exploitation and arbitrary power. But that in his later and ripened years he entirely abandoned his earlier dream of the regeneration of society through revolt and physical force, is no longer disputable. His very Anarchism was not of a partisan or exclusive nature. "Do not let us play with words," he wrote from his prison cell in Barcelona, May 27, 1907, to a group of young men, "Liberals, Republicans, or Anarchists—these were, and are, words to be avoided by us who march with all our hearts towards the ideal of human regeneration." A distinguished Anarchist said to Joseph McCabe concerning Ferrer: "To the Republicans he was an Anarchist; to the Anarchists he was a Republican." Like many other non-revolutionary radicals, he honored the intense devotion and sincerity of the revolutionists, and had many warm friends among them; but they themselves bear testimony to the fact that he was not of their view. Among these was Alfred Naquet, who gives the following information: "When I maintained against Ferrer, justifying the winning of political rights by violence, Ferrer used to reply to me with the utmost calmness: 'Time respects only those institutions which time itself played its part in building up. That which violence wins for us to-day, another act of violence may wrest from us to-morrow. Those stages of progress are alone enduring which have rooted themselves in the mind and conscience of mankind before receiving the final sanction of legislation. The only means of realizing what is good is to teach it by education and propagate it by example.'" . . . Never in any moment of his life did he show the white feather, nor shrink from the full avowal of his convictions. It is therefore inconceivable that in his last words he would fail to utter that which he wished received as the summary of his life-purpose or to hurl into the faces of his murderers the reaffirmation of his deepest sentiments and the challenge to what they represented. Here are the words themselves: "Aim well, my sons! It is not your fault. I am innocent. Long live the School!" No "Down with the state! Long live Anarchy! Long live the social revolution!" He died, as he had lived, a consistent Rationalist and a firm believer in education as the one means of making social transformation possible. Two days before his death he wrote a fragmentary letter on education to Soledad Villafranca, his beloved companion, in which, referring to "atavistic faults and prejudices," he continues: "This consideration ought not, however, to influence education any further than in impressing upon us the importance of a very great patience, seeing how gradual is every modification in the moral state whether of masses or of individuals." Still later, in his very last letter, written on the eve of his execution, he says: "No, I have no time to think of death; I will think only of life, of the life which we shall live anew when I have obtained justice; for one day justice will be done me. I will think only of Mongat, of the books of

the School, of the new scope that will be given to the cause of rational education, and of the immense happiness that will fill our life. . . . My defender pleaded not only my cause but also that of our dear Modern School and our educational work, with such ardor and passion that I assure you, my Sol, that I could die contented, sure that my work, which is my life, will not die. And so long as my work lives, what does my death matter?" In like manner, nowhere in his will or in any of his final letters or messages appears any appeal to violence or endorsement of revolution. He did not condemn the advocates of these views and measures, but he deliberately rejected them as futile and superficial.

These few samples, selected from an enormous mass of evidence, will suffice to make Ferrer's actual position clear. As has already been observed in these columns, a little over a year before his death, he prepared a careful account of the history and principles of his work, which is by far the completest statement made by him. It is entitled "The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School," and was first brought to light upon the restoration of his property to his family. The first copy of the English translation of this important work to reach the United States is in the possession of THE TRUTH SEEKER, and in all respects vindicates the position taken above. Of his two executors, one was the well-known English Freethinker, William Heaford. His first biographer was Joseph McCabe, another of the most notable Freethinkers of England. Neither of these men is an Anarchist. The most vigorous and effective organized work for the vindication of his memory has been done by the International Freethought Federation, as Lorand and his other surviving friends will not fail to testify. He was founder of the International League for the Rational Education of Children, of which he became President, his associates on the official board being men of the character and viewpoint of Anatole France, Ernst Haeckel and William Heaford. Among the extremely few other organizations to which he attached himself was Libera Penso, the international Esperanto Freethought organization. . . .

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